

184 from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin.
643 The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions
[73] gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet,
the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among them-
selves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed
Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out,
611 it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except
● 631 among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal
and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The
Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the
651 titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one
reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction,
either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in
skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll.
[644] He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his
appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his en-
tourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg /156/
today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It
[644] benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due
from the tributes paid by the vassals. This custom was still in
use a little less than a century ago.

643 The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum
called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum, "
[534] "cylinder of a drum. "
[177]
[192]

643 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking
644 his place or representing him with the fractions.

• 631 The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who,
like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

[192] Amrar, in Tamashek,
means "the old," "the re-
spectable," "the ancient,"
/158/ and by extension,

[643
534] "possessor of wisdom." It is
the equivalent of the Arab
word "sheik."

The amrar is the inter-
mediary between the people
of his tribe and the aménokal.
He transmits orders from the
latter and sees that they are
carried out. He collects the
trousse intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share
that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of
his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the
aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concern-
ing the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the
Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is,
several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit,
making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate
the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the
Ihaggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

[177] The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least
among the Ihaggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly
had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

565 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the
192 aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock



Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the
aménokal's command, with its
"imikkar."

565 /Fr. race/, "aristocrat," and not "noble" as some have written.
 [192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik," Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
 197 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

565 The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
 [173] of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
 701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
 631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
 [181] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can
 461 accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
 565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling
thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous
conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they
intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden
to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the
necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231] mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234 with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly
necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so
many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not
abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the
camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account
the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

565 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
• 631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of
grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.),
[643] tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to
the aménokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances
for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The aménokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651

On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the
Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the
nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate
raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exer-
631 cise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend
their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to
obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

177 The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this
631 mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace.
565 Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of fore-
sight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off.
511 In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop
the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of
their principal resources. They became poor people, while the
Imrad, as herd-owners, saw their wealth increase and become
stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious conse-
quences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite
the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves
from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this,
for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar
would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard
to us.

291 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been
565 used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north,"
178 Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white
ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the

1. Les races de l'Afrique, p. 129.

Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their
taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly
could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and
had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain
the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh,"
were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah.
They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white
instead of dark indigo.

174 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too fre-
565 quent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/
793 marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only
stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them
display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran,
and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab an-
cestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being
classed as marabouts after a certain time. " (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious
793 way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an
instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier
[144] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on
[142] which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of
Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have al-
ready said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic
appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the
Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed
Ouguinat.

565 The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the
631 northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated
793 any political role in the administration of the confederation in
order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society
where justice is represented by no power. " (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It
is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
 • 631 authority over the Ihaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, surely serving the
 793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than
 he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged
 themselves upon several occasions by the Ihaggaren and forced to
 seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

[797] The influence of the Inislmen on the Ihaggaren and the Kel
 Ajjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hard-
 ly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper
 than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact,
 they are generally quite ignorant.

[591] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their
 chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving,
 they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and
 disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihaggaren against us,
 in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislmen play a very important role among the Tademaket
 565 and the Ioullimiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
 793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.

797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
 become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable
 [649] enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base
 of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they
 preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

174 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
 565 Tadmeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
 793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from
 the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents.
 They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
 181 refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
 701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimiden, the Chériffen
 are divided into ordinary Chériffen and warrior Chériffen.

184 • The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[63] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in
practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad, -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
[422] am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."

In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[63] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimiden they are referred to as Idiner.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerors who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

565
[517]
[177] Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565
●631
[642] The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the aménokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181
565
721
[727] They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565
701 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

[714] There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565
631 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565
[582] Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhal' origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation; but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguenâten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguenâten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote [602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general- [582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguenâten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguenâten among the Ihâggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihâggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an [643] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer [651] their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores [184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they [567] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the [461] Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar, [582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

173

Sultan Goma was killed about 1650, and the independence of the Ahaggar tribes dates from that epoch. They profited from this event and from the Oularen-Imanrassâten struggle to free themselves from the yoke of the imenân.

The Ahaggar nobles formed only a single tribe in the beginning, the Kel Ehan Mellen tribe divided into fourteen fractions, which, according to pasture needs, split off and detached themselves from the original branch. The Kel Ehan Mellen probably lived in the Tidikelt in primitive times, whence they were chased by the Arab invasion. At the present time all that remains of them are the Tégéhé-n-as-Sakal, the Tégéhé-n-agg-Ali, and the Kel Ehan Mellen-ouan-Taghert.

At one time, one of these extinct tribes, the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi, was in power in the Ahaggar, but it gradually became weaker and weaker through misalliances, to the advantage of the present tribes of the Kel Réla, the Tâitok, and the Tégéhé-Mellet, who gradually absorbed the other fractions.

Among the Kel Réla today we find the last elements of the three tribes mentioned who descended from the Kel Ehan-Mellen.

The Kel Réla, Tâitok, and Tégéhé-Mellet each enjoyed the most complete independence. However, through political inheritances, the Kel Réla became the most important and the holders of the tobol.

Later, about 1755, profiting from the weakness of Aménokal Salah (called Mokhâmed el Khir), the Tâitok and Tégéhé-Mellet obtained a distribution of the Imrad tribes among the three groups, at the same time still recognizing the authority of the aménokal. But the Tâitok, in spite of these considerable advantages, were dissatisfied and wanted to seize the tobol from the Ihaggaren, which set off a series of internal struggles with their Kel Réla cousins.

175 /182/ When the Ahaggar Tuareg surrendered to France, the
 631 Tâitok and the Tégéhé-Mellet were organized as free tobol, and
 643 their chiefs bore the title of aménokal, although recognizing at the
 648 same time the authority of the aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa
 ag Amâstan, who had just been enthroned by the French. Aziouel,

175 the Taïtok chief, and Ser'ir ag Bedda, the chief of the Téghé-
 631 Mellet, accepted this vassalage without question, but later on they
 643 raised endless difficulties. This policy, which had been initiated to
 648 reinforce the authority of Moussa ag Amâstan, caused us several
 disappointments. As early as 1910, Captain Niéger, Adjutant
 Commander of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, interpreted the dissidence of
 two Imrad tribes, the Aït Loaien and the Kel-i-n-Touânin, as the
 beginning of serious complications.

We were able to measure his perspicacity during the revolt of
 1916-1918, and the misunderstanding between the Kel Réla and
 Taïtok still persists today. But since the Taïtok and the Téghé-
 Mellet participated in the revolt of 1916-1918 and their chiefs did
 not live up to the confidence which had been placed in them, they
 were placed under the direct authority of the aménokal of the
 Ahaggar, with the title of amrar.

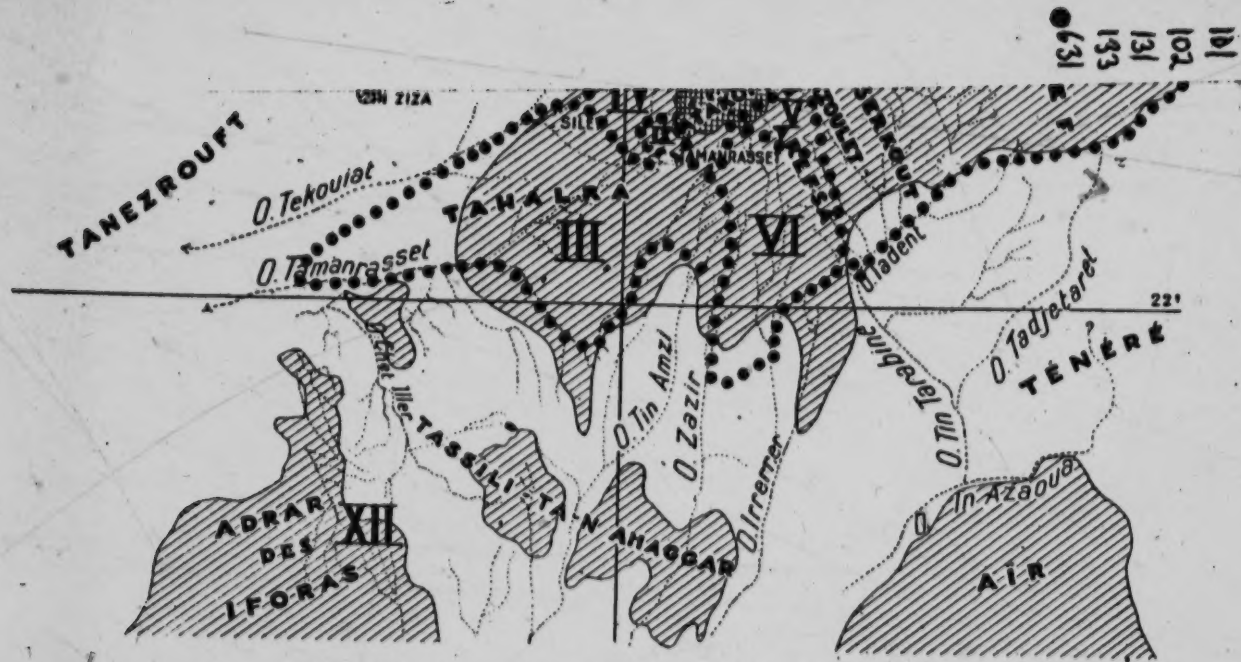
Tobol of the Kel Rela

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela is the most important in the Ahaggar,
 643 and its chief is at the same time the aménokal of the confederation.

It is formed by a certain number of noble families, several of
 565 which have been reduced to one or two tents. They are the Inemba,
 631 the Iboglan, the Ikerremfen, the Téghé-n-agg-Ali, and the
 643 Téghé-n-as-Sakal; all of whom are entitled to the tobol, and the
 Kembiden, the Oulad el Goute, the Oulad Amechaoui, and the
 Oulad Ibra, who lost their right to the tobol through misalliances.

173 Legend recounts that the Kel Rela nobles were descended from a
 woman by the name of Ti-n-Hinân, who came from the Tafilalet
 with her servant Takamat. Then her people bore the name of Kel Ehan
 Mellen (meaning "white-tent peoples") as opposed to another tribe,
 the Issetafenine, "black-tent peoples," who were the ancestors
 of the Ioullimiden.

Later the dominant fraction was the Téghé-n-ou-Sidi, /183/
 which was that fraction of the former Aménokal Sidi, and which was
 composed of the Kel Rela, the Taïtok, and the Téghé-Mellet.



Map IV. Areas of nomadization of Ahaggar tribes.

- | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--|
| I. Issekkemaren. | Ihéiaoueà-Hâda | III. Ikéchchemâden | VII. Ait Loaten |
| S. f. Kel In-Rhar' | Isselamaten | Ikân-en-Tâoussit | VIII. Tégéhé-Mellet |
| Kel Amgid | Kel I-n-Tounin | Tégéhé-n-Efis | IX. Ikadeien |
| Kel Tâtedest | Kel Terourirt | IV. Dag-Râli | X. Zone of salt marshes open to all tribes, but owned by the Aménokal. |
| Kel Imghdir | II. Tâitok et Kel Ahnet | Ibetteñaten | XI. Ajjer Tuareg |
| | | Irreguenaten | XII. Zone of exceptional nomadization of the Ibetteñaten, Irreguenaten, Ikadeien, and Kel Ahnet. |
| | | V. Kel Tazoulet | |
| | | VI. Agouh-en Tehlé | |

Scale: 1/5, 000, 000.

175 in everything. Much less intelligent than Moussa, he was none the less a faithful chief who knew how to make himself respected.

He married twice and had seven children.

175 Meslah ag Amayas is a second cousin of Akharmouk. He is a
643 grandson of the former Aménokal Altarel and a second cousin of Mohamed ag Ourzig and Attici ag Amellal. The tobol thus came down in the branch of Amennaï, the third son of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, for want of male descendants in the branch of Héguier. This follows the rules of matriarchal succession.

Although Moussa ag Amāstan's sister, Rakhma, who married Anaba ag Amellal, brother of Aménokal Attici, left a son named Louki, he was bypassed by the Imochar as weak-minded.

651 The aménokal levies the tioussé on the Imrad and assimilated
[643] vassals. Some of them also pay dues /Fr. droits de redevance/ to the descendants of the old noble families. Thus the Dag Rali pay an annual due to the Inemba Kel Tāhat, and the Alt Loa'en to the Inemba Kel Emori. The latter levy four percent of the loads of grain brought back from the Sudan by the Alt Loa'en.

[178] But these duties levied are tending to disappear gradually with
[161] the extinction of the old Ahaggar families, some of which are no longer represented by more than a few individuals.

631 The Kel Rela tribe has been gathering strength in a singular way
644 for a century. It is all powerful by the number of its representatives, and matriarchy has only accentuated this situation. Indeed, since
[643] only Kel Rela women are capable of giving birth to an aménokal, young men from other noble tribes seek alliances with them,
[522] abandoning the women of their own tribe. This new blood has given the Kel Rela a certain physical vigor by preventing them from becoming impoverished through too close and too repeated inbred alliances.

631 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of
643 a constant struggle against the Tāitok. The latter, belligerent and
578 jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and
the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession
of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but
where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical
superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of
Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du
Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[62] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them
men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two
tribes, the Dāg Rāli and the Agouh-en-Tēhié, as well as a large part
of the Issekkemāden. Since then, other fractions have come to seek
their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the
Aïr-Loaïen and the Relaidin.

[65] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," there-
by making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

[643] The Dāg Rāli. -- The Dāg Rāli form the principal fraction of the
Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always
relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing
and could do nothing.

With the Kel Xhnet, they originally formed the Imessiltén tribe,
and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of
Ti-n-Hinān, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four
sub-fractions: the Ikechchemāden, attached to the Tāitok tobol, the
Imessiltén, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dāg Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tāhat,
2) Kel Tarahananet, 3) Kel Tāmanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhāfok, 5) Kel
Xrechchoum. To the Dāg Rāli must be added a few individuals,
today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

- 631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dāg Rāli would have found in Atakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dāg Rāli still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1,090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 The Dāg Rāli pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 The Dāg Rāli are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They own more than 1,200 goats and more than 1,000 camels. Thanks to their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Iréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess lands at Ilāman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abālessa, Iglén, Tāfārit, I-n-Amegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Tāitok.

631 The Dāg Rāli are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The
781 majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, al-
though some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the
[794] Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however,
for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these re-
ligious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective
in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamānrasset and later
at his hermitage at Asekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant
contact with the Dāg Rāli. At first they were mistrustful of him, but
they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first
beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring
for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of
average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a
question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/
He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together.
Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his
affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort
Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won
over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which
made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar.
631 During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please
us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine:

797 "Ouksem, chief of the Dāg Rāli, could not be better; he does not
[648] cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on be-
ing faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his
attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and
he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilāman wadi in
[77] order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. This
garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which
was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit,
a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

622 time. Unfortunately the garden was abandoned after Father de
631 Foucauld was gone.
777

Although it is difficult to imagine, Father de Foucauld had even thought of Ouksem ag Ourar as a possible aménokal, against all Tuareg social rules.

But what remains of all that? The dead are quickly forgotten among the Tuareg, and although Ouksem may recall from time to time that the marabout was his good friend, it is to be presumed that he, no more than his Dăg Râli, understood the devotion and the affection which was to cost the life of the hermit in the Sahara.

631 The Ikechchemâden, whom we have mentioned previously, have always lived near the Dăg Râli, with whom they used to form only a single tribe. Upon the distribution of the Imrad, they became the vassals of the Tâitok, but they remained with the Dăg Râli and contracted numerous unions with them so that it is difficult to tell them apart. And so, in 1907, they asked to be attached to the tobol of the Kél Rela.

173 The Āgouh-en-Tēhlé. -- The Āgouh-en-Tēhlé form the most
631 important Imrad tribe in the Ahaggar after the Dăg Râli. They are said to have formerly nomadized in the neighborhood of In /194/ Gall in Aïr and have emigrated into the Ahaggar because of the demands of the Sultan of Agadez on whom they originally depended. The latter had polygamous mores and each year demanded of them a young and pretty virgin. Tired of this custom, which was contrary to Tuareg mores, they left the country and came to place themselves under the protection of the aménokal of the Kel Rela, Younès, the son (?) of Kella (ca. 1700). (The version reported by Mr. Benhazéra says "son of Mohamed el Kheir.")

Before coming to seek protection from the Ihăggaren, they belonged to the tribe of the Tégehé-n-Élimen, a name by which they are still called sometimes. One fraction of this tribe remained in Aïr and bears the name of Ir'Alaman or Kel Rapsa. They were the ones chiefly responsible for founding the Ghat oasis.

173 631 Āgouh-en-Tēhlē means "reed people." Legend has it that they were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aīr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assēkal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Āgouh-en-Tēhlē claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aīr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Āgouh-en-Tēhlē went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Efis, went to the Tāitok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dāg Rāli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[65] They pay a tribute to the amēnokāl, the same size as that of the Dāg Rāli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dāg Rāli and the Relaidin.

They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had

[648] about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they

[669] rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/

belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

The Āgouh-en-Tēhlē own nearly a thousand camels, which they

[233] graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.

[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amēnokāl of 12 bags of dates,

6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated

[123] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them,

[241] and they have gardens at Āmsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to
 427 be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen
 [175] by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable
 lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the
 Imanrassatèn, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands
 at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which
 was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim
 was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not
 claimed was gained by the renter.

[651] They often found themselves in conflict with the aménokal, be-
 cause they made difficulties in paying the tiouseé.

631 They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tārhaouhaout,
 into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tāhifet.

631 The Aît Loaien. -- The Aît Loaien get their name from the verb
 173 élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)
 [192]

1. According to Benhazéra,
Six mois chez les Touaregs du
Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinān, they
 are said to be of the same origin as the Dāg Rāli and the Kel Āhnet.
 At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed
 half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are
 subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dāg Houa, and
 Aît Loaien proper.

631 The Aît Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Tégéhé-n-āgg-
 651 Ali, also called Kel Āhamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dāg Houa group
 pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous
 marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the
 murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous
 in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in
 the Ajjer.

631

They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Arokam, Serouanout, and in the Anahef.

[162]

They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233]

They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

[241]

[423]

The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

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They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihe'aouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

[797]

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631

The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[181]

[651]

They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokai. The Relaidin. -- The Relaidin probably came from Aïr, like the Agouh-en-Téhlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162]

[651]

They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboqlân.

[177]

[233]

This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1,500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Aytoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[649] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaidin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaidin must be added a small fraction on its way - ward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others.

[423] Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and defined by monoliths, some of which bear tiffinagh characters.

[651] The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazera, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Ifora on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but
162 they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadél camp in Aïr.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning
233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[669] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tama^{la}.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tâousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

[184] Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be
[240] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[231] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tâhalra, and in the region of Silet-
Âbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouatén.

[241] Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
423 of Tîgeneouin, Âbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm grove at Tibeghân, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

- Iheiaouen Hâda
- Kel In Rhar'
- Kel Tâfedest
- Kel Immidir
- Kel Tâzoûlet
- Kel I-n-Touânin
- Kel Téroûirt
- Kel Ouhet

563 They are not vassals like the Irréguenaten and the Ibettenâten,
631 but are incorporated.

563 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the
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1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Adrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhail invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

797 Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are
197 nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs
648 and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were bestowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tâitok and the Tégéhé-Mellet.
563 The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Iheiaouen Hâda,
631 the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tazoulet, the Kel Tafedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the
439 Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their
484 camel raising is particularly renowned.
233

563 The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad Elias or Iheiaouen-n-Temount, are said to be descended from an
173 Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . .," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

They nomadize in the Tafedest massif near Adenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougai, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead
221 their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamâla well.

Tobol of the Tāitok

631 The Tāitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

[602] They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Tāitok.

[173] According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
as the Imenān sultans, that is, descendants of Idris, and the other
part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Aīr where the stock /souche/
still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Tāitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Imfel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihāggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live;
our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the
beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign
country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the
Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by
setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

579 They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
631 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
643 and the suzerainty of the aménokal of the Ahaggar. After the
[121] division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the aménokalat,
175 which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These
battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/
by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Tāitok are bound by numerous
marriages and are all more or less cousins.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
 579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Tāitok,
 631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Tāitok, fewer
 643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time,
 but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time
 later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century
 when Aménokal Āltarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in
 bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Tāitok at that time, Sidi ag Kéradi, was the
 nephew of Āltarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel
 Rela, while he held the right to the Tāitok tobol from his mother.
 Āltarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well
 as from some Tāitok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol,
 believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth
 and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge
 in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Āltarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel
 Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when
 the Tāitok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Touân, Imrad
 of the Tāitok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves.
 They appealed to the Ouraren, a noble Ājjer tribe. Sidi resolved to
 settle among them, when Aziouel, a pretender to the tobol, was
 trying to seize it.

[81] Aziouel was the typical Tāitok, the typical desert looter, with
 cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of
 the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber
 blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and
 traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Tāitok, while Sidi ag
 643 Kéradi was kept as aménokal.

175 Aziouel was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
 631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
 [81]

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643 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Aziouel, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

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631 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

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651 Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Adrar des Iforas, the Tégéné-Éfis and Isoknâten of the Atr.

233 Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1,000 goats.

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648 During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

[42] Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastan.

631 The amrar of the Tāitok is named according to matriarchal rules, and his election must be approved by the chiefs of the Imrad tribes. However, it must be pointed out that since Amrar Salah the chiefs have succeeded from father to son upon several occasions.

101 The Tāitok sometimes give the name Ar'rerf Ahnet to /205/ their group, from the name of the region where they range most of the time and also from their Imrad. (1)

1. "Ar'rerf" corresponds here to "tobol." According to Nicolas, op. cit., "Agref," following his orthography, means small fraction.

631 The Tāitok live on very good terms with their vassals, and the
565 vassals, proud of being called Tāitok, espouse all the rivalries of
[582] their lords. Marriages between different castes are not uncommon, and many nobles have married Imrad women, which causes their children to lose political rights to the tobol. But the greater and greater extension of this custom will necessarily bring about modifications in the customary law of filiation, or else patriarchy will finally replace matriarchy.

[651] The Imrad pay a lump tioussé which is divided among the different Imochar. There is no longer any individual right /droit/ like that still found among the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

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[101] Thieves to end all thieves, the Tāitok have still been able to keep alliances almost everywhere outside their country in the regions they have to cross to carry out their robberies; these alliances are military or protective. Thus, in order to keep from being robbed, the Sékakna and the Mazil, Arab tribes from the environs of Akabli who sometimes nomadized in the Adrar Ahnet, paid them a slight due. They were allied with the Fergoumoussen, an Imochar tribe from the Adrar, with the Tarat Mellet, the Kel Boujbiha, the Kel Arouan, the Tadjakant, the Arib, and the Kel Taoudeni. These

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tāitok raids.

648 The tobol of the Tāitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Āhnet, the Téghé-n-Ēfis, the Kel I-n-Touînin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjénaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Āhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Aziouel and Tacha ag Serada of the Tāitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Aziouel's widow married
Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal
of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

582 They are allies of the Tāitok through numerous marriages, and
643 also of the Imrad Kel Āhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab
women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made
them lose their right to the tobol.

173 According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen
originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the
Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

162 They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present
time.

The Kel Āhnet. -- The Kel Āhnet are of the same origin as the
173 Dg Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction.
This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el
Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the
different noble tribes, and the Kel Āhnet were bestowed upon the
Tāitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their
chief, Badjeloud ag Mākliā, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

631 Taken away from the Tāitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631
131 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land over which they range includes all of the Ādrar Āhnet, the Āseg'rad, and part of the Immidir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemāren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Āsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaġa. They camp near the Tāitok in the Ādrar Tazerzatt, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Mēraguen wadi.

631
[162] In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census, they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181]
[721] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Tāitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Āhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only, at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ājjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ādrar and at Ākablī.

[181]
[795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of [669] the Tīmbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Tīmbuktu for a long time.

173 Let us add that the Kel Ahnet claim to be of Beraber origin
631 through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân. But the Taitok say
that it is not known where they come from, except that they must
have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hinân.

631 The Tégéhé-n-Éfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Éfis are of the same
origin as the Tégéhé-n-Elimen.

They used to nomadize in Atr and had to leave that country as
a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay
too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to
leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Agouh-en-Téhlé.
When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Elimen came
to ask protection from the Ihaggaren -- some say this was under
Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younés.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Taitok in con-
flict, the Tégéhé-n-Éfis took refuge on the Atr borders. Afterwards,
they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in
the Sudan.

162 In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there
233 were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250
241 goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tigenouin,
423 Amsel, Abalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of
gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen
(an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they
should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and mi-
grate on the parallel Amsel, Tigenouin, Tamala. The line of
demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Agouh-en-
Téhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Taitok at the time of the distri-
bution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all
their affairs.

173 The Kel I-n-Touân. -- The Kel I-n-Touân are Issekkemâren.
They were given to the Taitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when
the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel
Térouirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

422
233
631

KEL RELA		on the right cheek, on the right front.	KEL IN-TOÛNINE	//	on the neck.
DĀB RALI		crossing the neck, at the right.	TĀITOK	UI or >	at the right front, on the cheek.
ĀJOUH-EN-TĒHLÉ		on the right front, on the neck, to the right.	KEL ĀHNET	XI	on the neck, to the right.
IKLĀN-EN-TĀOUSIT		at the top of the right thigh.	TÉGÉHÉ-N-ĒFIS	=	on the right cheek.
KEL TĀZOÛLET	+	on the neck, to the right.	IROUAROUAREN		on the right cheek.
KEL IN RHAR'	^	on the right thigh.	IKOUTTISEN	// or 	on the neck.
RELAĪDIN	IV	on the neck.	TÉGÉHÉ MELLET	∪	on the right cheek.
INEADUEN HADA	+I	on the right thigh.	IRECHCHOÛMEN		
KEL IMMĪDIR	±	on the right thigh.	KEL OHET	≡	on the right thigh.
KEL TĀFEDEST	—	on the right thigh.	IKERREMOÏEN	—	
KEL AMGÛID	λ	on the right thigh.	INEMBA	TJ	
ĀIT LOAJEN		on the right cheek.	TÉGÉHÉ-NAG-ALĪ	∪	
IRRÉGUÉNATEN		on the neck, to the right, on the right cheek.	TÉGÉHÉ-N-OU-SIDI	I	
KEL TEROÛRIKT	=	on the neck.	İBOGLĀN	—	
İBETTENĀTEN	±	on the right cheek.			

Table of the brands applied to camels in the different Ahaggar tribes.

• 631

The Kel I-n-Touân owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tâfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tâitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the Tâitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Âjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

[651]

After their surrender to the French, the Tâitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[64]

They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Âjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tâitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Âmastân made to keep them.

[62]

They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tâfedest massif and go up as high as the Âdrâr Ifetessen on the foothills of Immâdir.

[512]

They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

[233]

[431]

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300 goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241]

They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[62]

The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Âhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Âjjer.

193

631

/210/ When an Âjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Âmastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Âhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren.

(1)

631
[173]

1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les
Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[469] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghin, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given to Moussa ag Amastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Amastan.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ajjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeien form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

• 631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Adrar des Ifôras, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imrad of the Tâitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173
631 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hinân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Touânin women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Tâitok while Sidi Mohamed was aménokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631
[578] According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihaggaren and the Ajjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

619
648 They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Amastân. Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
 743 Ahaggar tobel. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort
 Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable
 relations with the Ihaggaren and the Kel Ajjer, but these relations
 are very few and far between and have no political or religious
 character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihaggaren.
 Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near
 which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
 578 repute. All the Tuareg, Ihaggaren or Ajjer, who pass near this
 788 place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on
 the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the
 Ihaggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of
 them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ajjer
 annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ajjer
 than of the Ihaggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkiren

Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad

Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of
 espousing the cause of the Oûraren, while the third was attached to
 the Imenân sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
 533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
 631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited
 to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those
 who are attached to the aménokal," just as Ikân-en-Tâousit (of the
 Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

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533

• 631

[162]

forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol. "

At the present time these three fractions number about 150 people.

We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133

The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge.

We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

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[511]

[312]

A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
ward drift of which we have evidence going
back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd,
1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great
Arab invasions first began to be felt.

● 631 The military administrative unit known as
the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the ter-
ritory that lies between Amguid and In Guez-
zam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds
fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the
size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Vir-
ginia and Maryland put together (146,300
square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
ants in 1950), and supports a total native popu-
[161] lation of probably about 12,000, roughly the
same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massa-
chusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge,
Massachusetts, has more than ten times as
many permanent residents. Twice as many
people work in the Pentagon Building alone
as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic
peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in
the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to
arrive at anything better than very rough
approximations. We are probably safe in as-
suming, however, that there are about 4,400
Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area,
plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small
families of smiths, and a very small handful of
Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who
have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a
form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 Social Organization. The Tuareg are divided
into confederations as we have seen, and these
are divided into tribes which are subdivided
into clans and the latter into fractions. The
585 nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] * A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd
with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 * Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in
104 as many different ways as are the geographical names
of the Sahara. The most common variations are found
in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*)
and *b*, and *gb* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes
reflect local differences in pronunciation and some-
times the personal preferences of various translitera-
tors.

622 * A chief may be succeeded by his younger
brother, as the Amenokal Younés was succeeded by
Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit^[114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able⁵⁶⁵
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the
Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short
period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence
of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage,
his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable
something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg
before you is really a noble. However, in the course of
palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well
dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their
bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This
is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may
/48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but
he is still 'iamir'ed, " that is to say, "he lacks something,"^[196]
and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id,
plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race¹⁷³
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro¹⁷⁴
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the⁵⁶⁵
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by
the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will
see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came
from Atr to place themselves under the protection of the noble
Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state
of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been
for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted
to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts
of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot⁵⁶⁵
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word⁶³¹

Hoggar

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather as "client, bondsman, tributary." 565 631

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted. [701] [727]

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appointment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is they who speak first and state whether they accept the new amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all. 565 631 643

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression (from the Arab word "el aâr", واء), not to avenge an insult or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 558 565 577 631

Chapter II

The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the insignia of command. 202 534 643 565

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n-Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more. 534 565

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule. 565 643

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idit" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had. [558]

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by meaning the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes," or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela." 534 565 631

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is," the early Arabs said, ما لاري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1). [192]

1. Arab-French dictionary by A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism. [174 797]

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private inheritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tiousse," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules. [428]
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631

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down "to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/. [114]

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
 2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
 3. The oldest son of his oldest sister
- This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Taïtoq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative. [173]

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Taïtoq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Taïtoq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

Chapter III

The Amenokal. The Amr'ar

The northern Tuareg, after the downfall of the Imanan sultan, who held absolute rule over them, regained their independence. Then two confederations were formed: that of the Azdjer and that of the Ahaggar, each including several noble tribes. /52/ 173 631

We will see later ("Origin of the Tuareg" /not translated/) that among the Berbers several tribes often formed a confederation under the supreme rule of a single chief and that the right to rule belonged specifically to certain tribes who held a kind of supremacy over the others. And this is what we will find again. Among the Azdjer the tribe that held this kind of supremacy was that of the Orar'en; among the Ahaggar, it was that of the Kel R'ela. The amenokal of the Ahaggar was always chosen from the tobol of the Kel R'ela. 631 643

The title of amenokal, although subject primarily to the laws of heredity which we have mentioned, had to be ratified by the delegates of the nobles of all the tribes and by those of the imr'ad of all fractions of the confederation. The inheritance must be confirmed by election, and this agrees well with the democratic spirit of all the Berbers and with all that is known of their history and of the theories introduced to them by Kharijism, of which they were adherents. 643

As we have said, the imr'ad had to speak first, to say if they would accept the amenokal designated by heredity, and agree to pay him the "tiousse". The nobles spoke later. The discussion was open and an agreement was reached. Sometimes it was not reached. We saw an example of this at the death of the amenokal of the Ahaggar, Aftar'el ag Biska, in 1900. The law of heredity called Mokhammed ag Ourzig as amenokal, but the latter, opposed by the imr'ad and the majority of the nobles, was not elected and saw his rival, Attici ag Amellal, preferred. [565]

The amenokal, who at first had supreme command, later 643
had to yield some power to the benefit of some chiefs and to 642
give them special "tobols" with some amr'id tribes, which
did not pay the tioussé to him but paid it to the chiefs of the
new "tobols." This was a source of continual arguments and [668]
wars (see the historical section, Book Two /not translated/),
and one thinks in spite of oneself of, "Who made you a count?"
and the answer, "Who made you king?" /53/

Before the French occupation of the Saharan Oases, each
tobol had its own independant life, and the amenokal, or
supreme chief, did not interfere in any way in the internal
government of the "tobols." He only intervened, with the
agreement of the djemaâ, to straighten out disagreements
which might arise between tribes or to call to arms all tribes
of the confederation against a common enemy, as during the
war between Azdjer and Ahaggar.

The chief of each "tobol," of each noble tribe, or of 631
each imr'ad fraction, all indiscriminately bore the title of 643
"amr'ar" , which means primarily "old man,"
like the Arab word "cheikh," all the meanings of which it
carries. Thus, the chief of the tobol of the Taïtoq bore the
title of amr'ar. For reasons of a political nature, the title
of amenokal was conferred on him, which brings to two the
number of amenokal of the Ahaggar confederation.

Thus the amenokal was the supreme chief of the confed-
eration, and at the same time chief of his "tobol," while the
amr'ar was the chief of a less important "tobol" of an imr'ad
tribe.

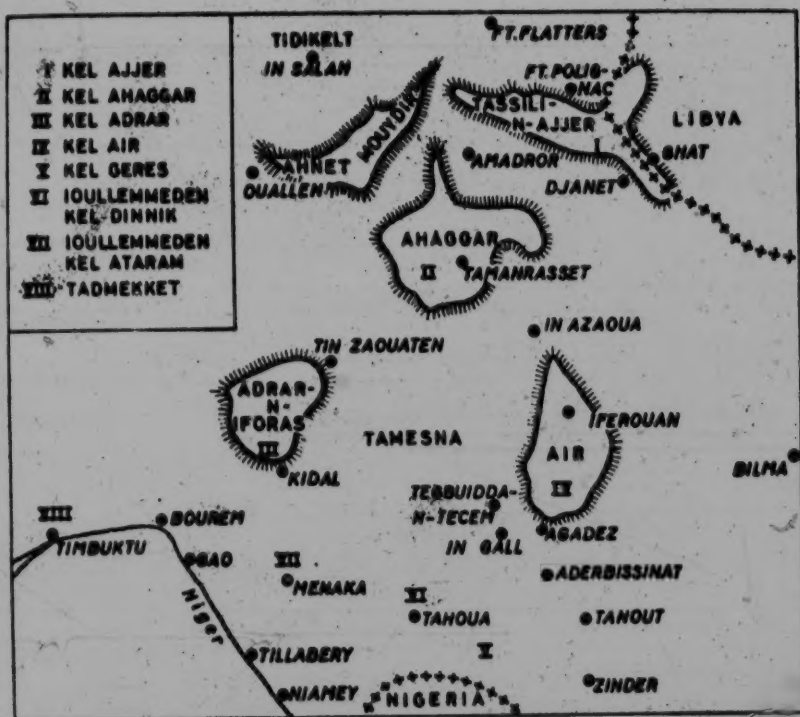


Fig. 1. - Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. - The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf.

Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 300 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

175 p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only
643 very short periods of reign.

[65] Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Inesimen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:—

162 The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountainous parts of the
175 massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui
(Nicolas 1950b, p. 463ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

• 631 The Kel Tamat including the Ikakasan. The group judged by the figures for some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Faden in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 3000.

175 The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But
184 its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which
565 may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agri-
culturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature are known as "noble Tuareg" (*Imachezen* sing. *Amacher*) and "vassal Tuareg" (*Imrad*, sing. *Amrid*). The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that

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- [533] Fig. 4.—The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. — The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.
- [534]

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *effebel*, or *arazon*. The name of the drum
●631 *effebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is addressed by this very word, and *effebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

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Clans of the Kel Ferouan Drum-Group

(Clans which are not separated by horizontal lines are said to be related to each other. - 162
The two former clans of the list are the only true noble clans of the group.) 614
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Clans	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Kel Ferouan (Iraouattan)	350 58	There are to-day very few Tuareg of these two noble clans, and it is said that even in the past they were very few.	Teloua (western part)
Kel Azel	180 47		Anlegen
Ijakarkaren Igendianen	203 41 247 55	Attached to the Kel Azel. Close to the camp of the the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command.	Tafadek Borhal
Ikhabban?			
Iberdianen (a clans)	621 97	Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants.	Goufat T'ouendegit Eknaouen
Irobouren		Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants.	
Imezzouren	162 31	Attached to the Kel Azel.	Tirraeren
Iksoukan	150	Attached to the Kel Azel.	
Iforas (2 clans)	396 95	Attached to the Kel Azel.	Tedrin
Ikochechlien		A section of the Immez- zillalen. Attached to the Kel Azel.	Afarak
Imezzoureg	106 30		Teraet
Idaleyen	218 67		Telhechams
Alt Oren	160		Maraparo
Immezillalen		37	Teloua (eastern part) Ama
Kel Traemt	237		Teloua (eastern part) Ama
Ikkhar	42 12		

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Clans	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Hadeyen (a clans)			Kourouhola Imchamchouan Torouf Beinabo Tin-Dassine Anialen Abelenna Ekaouel
Igetofen			
Iraouelen			Tombalaga Akadanci Meigaouci
Elbaraten			Ououachor
Itagan			Edeleg
Isakaranen	653 107		Tin-Telzeqin
Kel Tedale (3 clans)	1300	They may be noble by origin.	Talak Ourarene Zourika
Kel Akarra	164 39	Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals.	Tin-Telborak
Ibararochiten		Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan.	Enelegra

175 grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this
642 region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual
643 power then passed into the hands of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief.

The Kel Ferouan Tuareg.

114 Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Ferouan drum-group have already been
614 published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 194), Rodd and Abadie
have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427f. - Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers
twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes
close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may
614 refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship
127 between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to
[631] get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1933, p. 223 ff. from statistics of 1949)

	Noble Clans	Vassal Clans	Isekhemaren Clans
<i>The Kel Rela Drum-Group</i>	<i>Kel Rela</i> 275 To-day many of them live in Tamcena. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Iforas group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Rela women, like noble women of the Oraren (Tamili-n-Ajjer) and Kel Ferouan (Aïr), do not associate freely with people of other classes.	<i>Dag Rali</i> 386 <i>Aït Loolim</i> 400 <i>Agoub-en-Tahala</i> 383 <i>Ralaiddin</i> 40 <i>Iklan-en-Taousit</i> 300 <i>Ibetteuaten</i> 129 <i>Ireguaten</i> 433 These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibetteuaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Ireguaten descend matrilineally from the Ibetteuaten, patrilineally from Arabs.	<i>Ithiouen Hada</i> 233 <i>Kel Inzer</i> 176 <i>Kel Tafedest</i> 61 <i>Kel Immidir</i> 179 <i>Kel Tazoulet</i> 138 The Isekhemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals.
<i>The Taitok Drum-Group</i>	<i>Taitok</i> 33 There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitok stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamcena together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1934 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitok drum-group also now live in Tamcena. The Taitok and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past.	<i>Kel Ahnet</i> 127 <i>Jouarouaren</i> 47 <i>Teghe-n-Efis</i> 127 <i>Ihouisen</i> 84 <i>Ikerchermaden</i> (now mixed with the Dag Rali clan of the Kel Rela drum-group). <i>Iyechhoumen</i> - a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitok, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals.	<i>Kel I-n-Tounin</i> (about 20 tents in 1938).

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	Noble Clans	Vassal Clans	Isekhemaren Clans
162 565 614 631 The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group	Tighe Mellet 33	Kel Torke (part of the Alt Louren clan of the Kel Rela drum-group).	Kel Torout 60 Kel Oulet 70
Noble Clans Without Vassals	Kel Ehan Mellet Ikadein	The Isekhemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan. Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tli.	

The Kel Rela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.

[161] The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals
565 (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 96 clans. In addition to the noble class termed
614 *Ahaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel*
Oulli (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Isekhemaren* (sing. *Asekhemar*), who
can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemen*
(sing. *Aneslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organiza-
tion.

614 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in
565 other words three drum-groups (*ettebel*, pl. *ettebelen*), namely those of Kel Rela,
634 Taitok, and Tegehe Mellet. The Kel Rela group is by far the most important, and
its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which
643 constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of
Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-
[701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past
he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups. For long periods of
the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitok, who had acquired a
practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land
inhabited by the Taitok drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other
drum-chiefs (*Amgar*, pl. *Imgaren*) were elected by the vassals of their respective
[565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence,
[614] but - contrary to former opinions on the matter - they did not have any direct voice
in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the
Isekhemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other
634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook
the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of
vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective
drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel
Rela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taouit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar - like those of Air - have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for: 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:- A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

571 /48 cont. / Each tribe possessed slaves (iklan), bought or
564 captured in the Sudan. They lived with Tuareg families, carry-
[567] ing out domestic chores, tending goats, extracting salt, digging
wells. These slave families were an integral part of the tribe
and followed it in its moves.

The harratin were free or freed men, generally Negroes,
often natives of the Touat, come to cultivate the arable lands
of the Ahaggar. They worked under two contract systems,
which are still in force and which we shall study further on.

The Tribes

•631 In the preceding chapter we saw that each noble tribe
possessed imrads, or vassals. Each of these imrad tribes has a
chief called "amrar," who rules the tribe according to custom.
A tribe can be divided and subdivided. The tribe possesses a
pasture region of its own, in which no other tribe may sojourn
without a previous agreement with the amenokal, and that only
in exceptional circumstances. The nobles may sojourn as they
like on the lands of the vassals. The imrad tribes pay a due
to the amenokal as a sign of their vassalage. This tax is called
"tioussé." The payments are always in kind and in general are
scrupulously discharged. This revenue enables the amenokal to
uphold his rank suitably during the almost daily receptions, but
it is not enough to cover the expenses of his command completely.

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The Nobles

565 The Kel Rela at present constitute the most important noble
tribe of the Ahaggar. These nobles, called in Tamashek
"ihaggarenes," are split into three subgroups: the iboglanes, the
inembas, and the ikérémotens. These subgroups are related and
increasingly practice endogamy.

The Kel Rela are without doubt the handsomest specimens
of the Tuareg type. Does this derive from the fact that they have

565 /51 cont. / The Iklan Taoussit are /52/ the Tuareg who consume the most afazzou seeds (Panicum turgidum).

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563] There are very few Tédjéhé n'Néfis: 98 Tuareg and 120 Negroes. This tribe, like the preceding one, is imrad of the Kel Rela but formerly belonged to the Taïtoks. The Tédjéhé n'Néfis are related to the Adjouh n'Téhélé and like them were originally from the Atr. Their camps are generally in the Tamanrasset wadi, downstream from the village, mostly near the gardens of Tidjenouine. The chief of the tribe is Ad Noumen ag Khadida.

[162
563] The Ibotenaten tribe, comprising 128 individuals served by 153 Blacks, is enfeoffed to the Kel Rela without being truly imrad. It is said that an Ibotenaten once killed a noble Ahaggar. The tribe was beaten by the Kel Rela and condemned to pay a tribute.

The Ibotenaten are rich camel raisers. They live permanently in the Tamesna, benefitting from the annual rains which make this region fertile. Ould Brika is the tribe's amrar.

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563] The Irreguenaten number 434 and have 600 Negroes. Normally they reside in the Tamesna, but they nomadize toward the Iforas and even the Timétrine region. Their name means "mixture of Arabs and Tuareg." They are allies of the Ibotenaten. Rich camel raisers, the members of this tribe are essentially nomads; they possess no agricultural center. They are the best guides to the Tassili n'Ahaggar.

[631] The name Issakamaren designates a group of tribes of Arabic origin which were raided in the Touat and the Tidikelt about the eighteenth century by the Kel Ahaggar. The Issakamaren speak Arabic and Tamashek, but their customs have become those of the Tuareg. They are incorporated in the Tuareg confederation and are treated as imrads, although with a slight nuance of inferiority in the caste system. Their pasture regions are situated on the periphery of the central massif.

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563] The Kel in Khar tribe includes 176 individuals and 50 Negroes. /53/ They are nomads in the eastern part of the Tefedest and trade in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

565 /57 cont./ The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked
[563] as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of
racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

[622] He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also
[631] a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always [166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing [567] poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

423 /67 cont. / interest in planting trees that he cannot keep. A constant effort at arboriculture cannot be hoped for since the gardener may change frequently, and the successor of a tree planter may be ignorant or unscrupulous and is free to let the planting fail.

423 Besides the cultivated land, the land through which routes
●631 pass has great importance in the Ahaggar. The whole of the
486 territory of the Kel Ahaggar has always been divided among the different Tuareg tribes. Strictly applied oral regulations define the rights and servitudes of a tribe concerning its land.

1) Passage through and watering on the lands of a tribe is the right of other Tuareg.

2) No one may sojourn on the lands of a tribe without the consent of that tribe's chief.

3) Whoever follows travelers' routes through land belonging to a tribe is responsible for any damage caused by him or his animals to the trees, wells, foggaras, gardens, and game. Here are several penalties: one goat for a broken tree branch;
[685] one sheep for damage caused /68/ by a poorly watched herd; a camel for damage caused by camels; part or all of any game killed. When a camel runs away, the owner is not responsible; he must even be told and helped. It is forbidden to put animals in a pasture where plants have not attained maximum growth.

4) The amenokal may sometimes authorize tribes to sojourn on the lands of a certain tribe, in case there is an abundance of pasturage on these lands.

The servitudes of the tribes are the normal consequence of their nomadic life, but the rights concerning the land passed through bring to light a characteristic of the Tuareg: their love of the land. These nomads, who should seek the most abundant pastures, whose every interest calls them toward the Sudan, remain attached to their soil. They observe regulations suitable for sedentary peoples.

648 Let us note that there is no agricultural exploitation directed by Europeans in the Ahaggar. The principal reason for this abstention is the meager yield to be expected; the reduction

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Fig. 30. Young zebu ox with *ikembar*, that is cut made with a knife on the bridge of the animal's nose, and with a cord (*asabar*) placed through the nostrils. Ayr, sedentary *Kel Ewey* Tuareg near Agadez.

(2) *tabellut*, that is a small pronged stick about 40 centimetres long placed through the nostrils of the calf which is thus prevented from reaching its mother's udder (Fig. 31). (3) *ikembar*, that is two small pointed sticks crossing each other and attached over the calf's nosebridge. When the calf tries to suck it hurts the udder of the mother cow which will kick the calf away. I have only seen this device once in Southern Ayr, and I am not quite sure that the term mentioned is correctly spelled, as I did not take it down in *tifinar*. (4) *akimbab*, that is a muzzle. It is not in general use among the Ayr Tuareg though they know of it. It is in current use among the Tuareg of the plains west of the Massif (Tamesna) where I have seen it among the *Iregenaten* Tuareg, who politically belong to the *Kel Rela* drum-group of Ahaggar (Fig. 32). I have seen the same device also known as *akimbab* among the *Kel Tahabnat* of the Western *Iwlemmeden*. Similar muzzles are used among the *Iwlemmeden* around Meneka (Musée de l'homme, nos. 36.44.50 & 41.19. 1111-1114) and also among the Tuareg of Adrar-n-Foras (Musée de Neuchâtel, no. 49.2.39). - These are the weaning devices used in Ayr, the method most commonly applied being that known as *tabellut*, the small pronged stick passed through the calf's nostrils.

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[62] Cow's milk is drunk fresh, added to food, or made into butter and cheese according to methods described in a later chapter. The Tuareg say that an extremely good milch-cow yields up to seven litres of milk a day. This agrees with Doutreissoulle's statement that cows of the *Azaway* breed yield six to eight litres daily at the beginning of their lactation period, while at the end of this period the daily

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591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

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611 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one particular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Rali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Rali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Tarhawhawt* sub-tribe.

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565 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Rali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Rali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).

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578 Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

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613 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names - generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Rali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4-6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

- 643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukul* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen dar-Menan* = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukul* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukul* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukul* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the
- 173 631 614 *Imenan* and the *Iforas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he allotted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraŕen* tribe was given the valley of Iŕŕŕaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanŕasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when
- 175 631 614 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukul*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraŕen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iŕŕŕaren, the *Imanŕasaten* east of the *Uraŕen*, and finally the *Iforas* who lived in the region south and southwest of Radames. The *Iforas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Iforas* tribes had territorial rights around Radames, and it had the right to dues from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer* group, the chief of the *Uraŕen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.
- 565 614 642 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraŕen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanŕasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanŕasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraŕen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraŕen*, while the *Imenan*,

173 as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate
 565 position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day
 614 is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of
 642 Injer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Isekkemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were
 later placed under the *Kel Relr* the *Taytoḱ*, and the *Téghé Mellet*. The *Isekkemaren*, as we shall
 see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern
 Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imrad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag*
Mokhammed el Khir between the three noble tribes of *Kel Rela*, *Taytoḱ*, and *Téghé Mellet* is most
 interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some
 of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Rela* and the *Téghé*
Mellet while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Rali* for the *Kel Rela*, and the
Kel Ahmet for the *Taytoḱ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes,
 but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups
 of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals
 took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Rela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted
 to the *Taytoḱ*, while the *Téghé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically
 important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Rela*, the *Taytoḱ*, and the *Téghé Mellet* these noble
 tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *téghé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed
 134 so-called drum-groups or *esfebelen* (sing. *esfebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum
 539 known as *esfebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch
 1778 the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum
 must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the
 supreme political and judicial authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war
 upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was
 true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups
 631 that of the *Kel Rela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḱ*
 634 and the *Téghé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*), which word is that generally
 643 used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Rela* drum-group had the title of
Amenukal as the chief of the whole *téghé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would
 ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḱ* and *Téghé Mellet*
 were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his
 1565 office by a Tuareg from one of the *Isekkemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal*
 was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren*
 class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day,
 was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a
 vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to
 install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal's* camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs,
 but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

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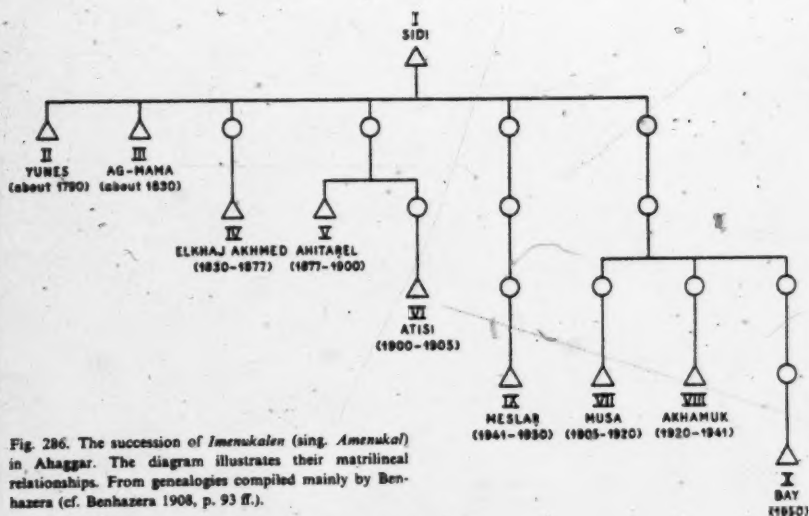


Fig. 286. The succession of *Imenukal* (sing. *Amenokal*) in Ahaggar. The diagram illustrates their matrilineal relationships. From genealogies compiled mainly by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 93 ff.).

drum-groups. The drum-chiefs alone were responsible for the election of vassal chiefs within their groups. The two other drum-groups were largely independent of the *Amenokal*, though the latter was considered the supreme judge in all matters which involved the whole federation, as he was the supreme war leader when the three groups united to fight other groups. It seems as if the *Amenokal* also had a certain religious prestige, and even to-day he goes to the Cherif of Issileskein once every summer to ask the Cherif to intercede for him with Allah that the rain may fall and the she-camels be fruitful (cf. Morel 1947, p. 129). But the position of the *Amenokal* was very far from that of a divine king. Throughout the 19th century there were long periods in which the two other drum-groups cared very little for the *Amenokal*'s authority, and the *Taytok* and the *Kel Rela*, though related to each other, were for long periods engaged in mutual quarrels.

In discussing the position of the *Amenokal* as the supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg, we come to the question whether he was the true owner or commander of the whole country inhabited by the three drum-groups. On this question I have gathered much conflicting information. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* group, including the *Amenokal*, claim that in the past as at the present day the *Amenokal* had rights over the whole country of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while certain other Tuareg, including some old vassals of the *Kel Rela* group, say that the two other drum-groups possessed their own territories, the drum-chief of the *Taytok* holding all rights over the country of Ahnet with adjacent sections of the western lowland of Ahaggar where some of the *Taytok* vassals lived. I believe that this latter explanation is true and that throughout the 19th century the *Amenokal* was only the

619 him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were
 721 frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwé* to the *Amemkal* were raided
 643 by people of his drum-group, the *Amemkal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according
 to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made
 by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amemkal*'s drum-group
 should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided
 complained to the *Amemkal* to whom they paid *tiwé* for protection, he might return some of the
 animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1347 f.).

634 The drum-group (*esjebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The
 [83] federation (*régehe*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels
 might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

634 It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship
 565 (*sehamdezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Rela* drum-group there
 571 were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is
 614 true notably of the *Dag Rali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar.

[602] People of the *Dag Rali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and
 brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Rela* drum-group
 joke with the tribes of the *Isekemaren* class. The word "*Isekemaren*" means literally "people who
 lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is
 considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their
 drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg
 and true vassals, who say that the *Isekemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding
 expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals
 will joke with the *Isekemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the
 [602] vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally
 [431] related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed
 between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-*
en-tehlé Tuareg come to the *Isekemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the
Isekemaren visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relation-
 ship to the noble *Kel Rela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Rela* engage in sham-
 fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between
 the *Kel Rela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-tehlé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that
 the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Rela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between
Isekemaren and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by
 their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekemaren* tribes (*Itheyawen*
Hada, *Kel Taqulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Wedding feasts in these *Isekemaren* tribes are most
 popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekemaren* girls.
 Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages,
 if any, while this was not so in the *Taytoḥ* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

173 Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg
 643 claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg
 639 title of *Amgenkal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the
 remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However,
 125 if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the
 643 establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of
 651 horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter
 to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he
 was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes
 protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore
 be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before
 the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which
 is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma
 salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésem.

643 The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople
 and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society.
 The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed
 with prestige because of his supposed descent from the Sultan of Constantinople.

643 A certain *elharaka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan
 778 must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that
 768 if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use
 765 part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor
 for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elharaka* attached to the
 Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility,
 which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the
 Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine
 125 kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war
 643 leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within
 Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg.
 Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like
 (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only
 reigned for very short periods.

631 Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship
 643 to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey*
 648 group known as the *Anestafidet*. The *Anestafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now
 648 lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned
 and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the
 important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anestafidet* has always been
 closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living
 at a small village named Blanko between Tanūt and Zinder. A new *Anestafidet* may even be elected

from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the tribe *Kel Tafidet* - one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anestafidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's pulace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan. 631
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The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*. 266
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The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel Anemukul*, that is "the people of the *Anemukul* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:— 631
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The *Itezen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, and also south of the Massif in Damerghu. They number about 5000. 162

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized 631
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631 as Ayr Tuareg and are politically independent. Nevertheless they still consider the Sultan of Agadez
 643 as their proper *Amenukal*. They are very rich and numerous, comprising a great many tribes. Their
 109 political system differs from that of most other Tuareg. I outline its structure later in this chapter.
 634 The drum-chiefs of the *Itésen*, the *Innikitan*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan* have to be recog-
 643 nized and ceremoniously installed by the Sultan. The ceremony should traditionally take place at
 the Sultan's palace of Agadez, but to-day it is performed at the French Administration Centre. The
 main feature of the ceremony is the wrapping of a large head-cloth around the elected chief's head
 by the Sultan. The Sultan, on the other hand, is elected and installed by the chiefs of above-mentioned
 groups and by the *Anestafidet* as the representative of the *Kel Ewey*. But the chiefs do not take the
 same part in the election of a Sultan, and it is noteworthy that the *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan*,
 who throughout the 19th century were extremely powerful and warlike, apparently do not play any
 rôle in the instalment ceremony.

The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace
 (Fig. 288) the Sultan is led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* ask him
 to sit down upon a bed made of ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he is not allowed to lift
 his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission is given by the *Kel Ewey* (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.).
 Jean, who gives a more detailed account, says that the *Kel Geres* do not participate, and have no voice
 in the election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). I have myself been told during my visit to the *Kel Geres* drum-
 chief that the *Kel Geres*, represented by their drum-chief, previously took part in the election of the
 Sultan. As to the position of the powerful drum-groups of *Kel Faday* and *Kel Ferwan*, people of the
 latter group frequently claim that they alone could elect a Sultan, and I have been told by *Kel Ferwan*
 Tuareg that a Sultan should be installed in the way that the supreme chiefs of the *Itésen* and the
Innikitan take the Sultan by his hands and lead him to a sheepskin where he sits down to receive
 the large head-cloth from the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group. However, it seems as if the *Kel*
Ferwan drum-chief does not traditionally play any part in the instalment ceremony.

631 In the 19th century the Sultan was the arbitrator and the supreme judge in disagreements between
 634 the different Tuareg groups whose supreme chiefs should be installed by the Sultan. But he could
 193 not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent
 quarrels. The *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs did not always pay much respect to the
 Sultan. At the time of the French occupation of Ayr the *Kel Faday* even had the impertinence to collect
 the Sultan's dues from the village of Ingal (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan
 was much afraid that the *Kel Faday* would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the
Iwlkinnicken (Barth 1857 58, I, p. 478). As to the *Kel Ferwan*, their chief was the most prominent
 leader of all Ayr. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103 f.) and it is repeated over and
 over again by all Tuareg of Ayr to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on
 journeys was replaced by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and he thinks that the *Kel Ferwan* originally
 [123] formed the noble family from which the Sultan or *Amenukal* was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This
 agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group. It is how-
 ever most difficult to judge the value of these traditions as it is difficult to reconstruct political life in
 pre-European times. All Tuareg try to glorify their own political rôle in the past, and this is particularly

true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg.

The Sultanry of Ayr

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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

● 631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
670 openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 19th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization
like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral
groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest
pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdyanen*. This story runs as follows:—

The three sisters left their original homeland of *Awjila* riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from *Iferwan* and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenar*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenar's*, and when the sisters arrived at *Iferwan* she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At *Iferwan* there was then a mighty chief named *Azezzzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenar* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tamerht* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azezzzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenar*, as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenar* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from *Iferwan* and her camel did not get tired until she was close to *Tagedufat* south of the Massif. Here *Sabenar* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of *Tagedufat*, and *Sabenar* now had the right to all country ranging from *Iferwan* in the north to the well of *Tagedufat* situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenar* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as *Tessawt*, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tawad* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:—

Fig. 289. Mat tent of the B.I.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of *Adarbininat* at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.



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<i>Kel Ewey</i>	50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton
<i>Kel Faday</i>	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
<i>Echchikhen</i>	two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters
<i>Kel Gercs</i>	1 horse with a saddle
<i>Kel Drmek of the Iwllenneden</i>	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
<i>Kel Allekot</i>	150 kg of millet
<i>Damergu & Katsena</i>	An amount of millet

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself, when he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

634 The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum
534 known as *ettebel* (or *arezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but
778 also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

634 The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief.
202 The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amrar* or *ayolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely *Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant* asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or *Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief.

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief. For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him.

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the *Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail (*takormut*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel thieves who were hanged like dogs.

All members of the *Kel Ferwan* group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities (*édeyet*) were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man, whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Some Tuareg will claim that the

The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems

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The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation of the country. The traditional *tiwse* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdey* of the noble *Kel Tahabamat* informed that the *tiwse* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imrad* tribes had no camels.

THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwlemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *teché*, in the *Iwlemmeden* groups as *tegezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *semazlay* masters, within the drum-group had no